United Nations S/PV.3430

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3430th Meeting

Thursday, 29 September 1994, 6.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1107)

94-86467 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 6.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1107)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* In accordance with the decision taken at the 3429th meeting, I invite the representative of Haiti to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mrs. Frechette (Canada) and Mr. Manzanares Veloz (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1109, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, France, Haiti, Spain, the United States of America and Venezuela.

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Longchamp *(interpretation from French):* I have genuine pleasure in taking part in this meeting of the Council devoted to consideration of the question of Haiti. After three long years of disappointment and frustrated hopes, the positive developments that we have been witnessing in the situation in Haiti for the last two weeks justify our feeling of optimism and our belief that the tragedy of the Haitian people is approaching its end.

The arrival in Haiti on 19 September of the first components of the multinational force authorized by Security Council resolution 940 (1994) Council has permitted a resumption of the process of the restoration of democracy, in conformity with the Governors Island Agreement - a process which, since the unfortunate withdrawal of the *Harlan County* on 11 October last year, had been paralysed.

Yesterday, for the first time since the *coup d'état*, the constitutional Parliament was able to meet, having been convened by President Aristide, to begin consideration of a draft amnesty law.

This morning, the Mayor of Port-au-Prince, Mr. Evans Paul, resumed his functions after having been prevented from carrying them out by attachés and members of the FRAPH paramilitary group, who had threatened his life.

The disarmament of the Army and the paramilitary forces has begun. High-calibre weapons have been confiscated, and the conduct of the police has markedly improved.

The Haitian people, who have been forced by the brutal repression of the military either to remain silent or to flee in order to escape death, are beginning to express themselves and to exercise their fundamental rights. Demonstrations of support for the return of President Aristide are being held everywhere round the country. Today hope is being reborn in Haiti.

My Government, which has always called for these measures, is fully satisfied with this new course of events.

This positive development has prompted the Security Council to consider the lifting of the sanctions imposed by its resolutions 841 (1993), 873 (1993) and 917 (1994). However, this measure should take effect after the return to Haiti of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

My Government supports this decision, which, in fact, President Aristide, in his statement of 25 September, invited the Council to consider. We fervently hope that the members of the Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution before it.

We are now nearing the goal that we have been pursuing for three years - the departure of the perpetrators of the *coup d'état* and the return of President Aristide. But we have not yet achieved this objective. It would be naive, even irresponsible, on our part to hail a victory while the military are still in control of the country. We must expect manoeuvres on their part designed to shirk their commitments once again.

Despite the presence of the multinational force, acts of violence directed at the population continue. The paramilitary forces continue to sow death. The Haitian people are still paying with their lives for the restoration of democracy in Haiti. Today, just a few hours ago in Port-au-Prince, FRAPH caused new casualties. A grenade was thrown into a crowd which was demonstrating following the reinstatement of the Mayor of Port-au-Prince. This resulted in the death of three persons and the serious wounding of about a dozen others. This grave incident demonstrates the need for the multinational force to speed up disarmament in order to create a stable and secure environment which would make possible the national reconciliation that we desire so much.

President Aristide's return to Haiti in the coming days to resume his functions will be made possible by the resolve of the international community to support the Haitian people in their legitimate aspirations to a democratic society and a state of law.

On Tuesday next, President Aristide, in his address to the General Assembly, will have the opportunity to tell the international community how grateful the Haitian people are for the support that has been demonstrated for them over the last three years and for the efforts that have been made to end their sufferings.

In the meantime, allow me to thank in particular the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who for 22 months now has been dedicating himself to finding a multilateral solution to the Haitian crisis.

My sincere thanks go also to the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General, the countries of the Caribbean Community, the troop-contributing countries, the multinational force and the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) *(interpretation from French):* It is with a feeling of hope that my delegation is addressing the Council today on the question of Haiti. The achievement of the objectives for which we have struggled for so long is approaching - the end of tyranny, the restoration of democracy and the return of President Aristide.

The multinational coalition authorized by the Security Council has been deployed peacefully and is making progress in establishing a secure and stable environment. Recent developments in Haiti are for the most part positive, although we deplore the acts of violence directed against the supporters of President Aristide. We vigorously condemn those recent attacks.

As the Permanent Representative of Haiti has indicated, the Mayor of Port-au-Prince, Mr. Evans Paul, resumed his functions today. At the request of President Aristide, the Parliament is once again in session to adopt legislation provided for in the Governors Island Agreement, in particular on the amnesty and the separation of the police and the armed forces.

Preparations are under way for the redeployment of the International Civilian Mission in Haiti. Next week, an advance team will go to Haiti to prepare for deployment of the United Nations Mission, which will assist Haitians in their efforts to build peace and to establish a stable and democratic society.

(spoke in English)

It is in this promising context that we fully endorse the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council today, which will lift the sanctions regime following the return of President Aristide. It is a clear signal of hope to the Haitian people that the international community remains fully committed to the restoration of democracy in Haiti and stands ready to help Haitians in the challenges of economic recovery that lie ahead. At the same time, it underlines our message to the de facto authorities that they must keep their word and step aside.

For its part, Canada, at President Aristide's request, has already lifted its unilateral ban on commercial air services with Haiti and on financial transactions, except those targeting the military leadership and their supporters.

Canada looks forward to the return of President Aristide in the very near future. We fully support his call for a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation as Haiti moves to take its rightful place among the circle of democratic nations. In the past three years, Canada has provided over $41 million in humanitarian aid. We now stand fully ready to help Haitians face the daunting task of rebuilding their society. We will provide substantial financial and technical assistance to this end.

The Security Council's action today prepares the way for the international community to help Haiti and the Haitians, following President Aristide's return, to build their future.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Since the beginning of the crisis in Haiti, Brazil has lent its consistent support to the diplomatic efforts aimed at restoring democracy to the sister country of Haiti, a member of the Latin American and Caribbean Group of States. Our goal has been clear: the re-establishment of constitutional rule, with the return to power of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide through peaceful means.

My delegation strongly upholds the objective of bringing to an end the sanctions regime imposed against the de facto authorities as soon as President Aristide is reinstated. The immediate end to the suffering of the Haitian people should be a clear priority and must remain at the core of our concerns. Nevertheless, my delegation is not in a position to support the draft resolution before the Security Council today. We believe that to do otherwise would be inconsistent with the well-known position taken by Brazil on previous occasions as regards, in particular, full respect for the principle of non-intervention.

At the last meeting of the Security Council, the Foreign Minister of Brazil stated our position on this issue. The seriousness of the crisis in Haiti requires the continued attention of the international community but does not, in our view, justify any recourse to force. In this sense, my delegation has reservations on certain elements of the current draft resolution that go beyond the question of the termination of sanctions. Our concerns remain unchanged.

The Brazilian Government will continue to work with the international community to promote an early peaceful solution to the crisis. With the restoration to power of President Aristide, assistance to Haiti in the task of national reconstruction will be crucial, and Brazil stands ready to actively participate in it.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The Council's vote today sends a strong political message to Haiti. With this vote, the international community again makes common cause with the Haitian people in their support for President Aristide. We reaffirm that sanctions will be lifted only when the legitimately elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, returns to Haiti and resumes his duties.

By voting today and not waiting for President Aristide's return, the international community's message is clear: there will be no conciliatory gesture while the military remains in power, but when President Aristide and democracy return to Haiti, Haiti can return to the community of nations.

Let me be clear. My Government believes that voting today is the right choice. By voting today, we promote the early departure of the coup leaders, the early return of President Aristide and thus the early restoration of democracy to Haiti. Today, the Haitian people enjoy their first respite from terror since the coup that ousted President Aristide on 30 September 1991, three years ago tomorrow. In this regard, we must note the brave efforts of the members of the multinational force deployed, peacefully and without bloodshed, only two weeks ago.

As noted by Secretary of State Christopher in his remarks to the Council this morning, this draft resolution reinforces Haitian democracy. With it, we take a crucial step towards our common goals: the departure from power of the de facto leaders, the restoration of Haiti's legitimate government and the return of President Aristide.

The hard part now begins: Haiti stands at a crossroads and will require the full support - economic, political and technical - of the international community. We must work together to assist the Haitian people in rebuilding their country. My Government has already committed resources for these efforts. We look to the international community to contribute rapidly and generously, in its turn, so that democracy can truly, and finally, flourish in Haiti.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The Russian delegation is abstaining in the voting on this draft resolution on the lifting of sanctions against Haiti. While supporting the humanitarian direction of this draft, we still have doubts regarding its hasty adoption, and we set out these doubts in detail in the Council's earlier consultations. However, we decided not to object or vote against its adoption, since in this case it is a question of improving an acutely difficult humanitarian situation and alleviating the extreme suffering of the Haitian people.

We have taken note of the information given by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Warren Christopher, and of the report of the United States delegation on the activities of the multinational forces in Haiti, submitted in accordance with paragraph 13 of resolution 940 (1994). We note that these forces are making every effort to establish peace and stability in Haiti so as to make it possible to restore a democratic government and to ensure the return of President Aristide.

We are also concerned at the fact that the situation is not clear as yet as regards the withdrawal from Haiti of the Haitian junta, which continues to hold the levers of power. Although the draft resolution on which we are about to vote is linked to the return of President Aristide, there is still no clear indication as to the time frame for his return.

I should also like to draw attention to the following important consideration: We are profoundly convinced of the need to adhere to a unified, single approach, without exception, to the lifting of the sanctions regime, as regards the observance of general conditions and requirements for everyone. Such an approach would make it possible to clarify the question that naturally arises why some resolutions on the lifting of sanctions are discussed in a series of meetings while others are adopted in just over two days, and adopted in advance when there is no confirmation that these demands have been accepted as put forward by the Security Council.

It is appropriate to recall that, in undisputed questions such as the removal of sanctions from the South African Republic, the Council's decision was prepared and adopted only after the implementation of all the necessary conditions and procedures.

All of this stresses the need, in principle, to work within the United Nations and to develop a flexible mechanism for the gradual mitigation and then the lifting of sanctions, on the basis of political realities.

The Russian delegation intends to promote such an approach in the consideration of questions relating to the lifting of the sanctions regime. We do so, based on the conviction that double standards are inadmissible in the work of the Council.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1109.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Brazil, Russian Federation

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The result of the voting is as follows: 13 in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 944 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: It was with a feeling of hope that my delegation voted in favour of this resolution by which the Council decided to lift the sanctions against Haiti on the very day following the return of President Aristide. I am pleased that this resolution was co-sponsored by the legal Government of Haiti.

France never gives its support lightheartedly to coercive measures against a country. It takes this difficult decision only if it is certain that there is no other way. We have always said that these sanctions, which have been voted on in several stages up to the level of a general embargo, with of course the exception of humanitarian products, would be lifted definitively following the return of the legitimate President. It is a provision which is contained moreover in the Governors Island Agreement and in all of the resolutions of the Security Council. The situation has evolved very quickly in Haiti. It seems to us that the time has come to signal the fact that the return of the legitimate authorities will mark the beginning of normalization for Haiti: first political normalization, with the restoration of democracy, then economic normalization, giving this country an opportunity to return without restriction to the system of international trade. The lifting of the sanctions regime will in our view make it possible to consolidate democracy by ensuring the development of the country.

I recall in this respect that, as the French Minister for Foreign Affairs stated this morning, we are also going to lift the sanctions which we had adopted unilaterally when the technical conditions so permit.

Mr. Wang Xuexian (China)*(interpretation from Chinese)*: The Chinese delegation has been following closely the developments in Haiti and is deeply sympathetic with the Haitian people for the sufferings inflicted upon them by the economic sanctions.

Security Council resolution 944 (1994), just adopted, is aimed at comprehensively lifting the sanctions against Haiti after the return of His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the legitimate President of Haiti, and the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement so as to alleviate the sufferings of the Haitian people and remove the obstacles to the recovery of the Haitian economy. For this we wish to express our welcome and support. The timely lifting of sanctions after reaching their projected goals in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Security Council resolutions is in the interest of all the parties, and especially that of the Haitian people. It was based on this consideration that we voted in favour of resolution 944 (1994).

The Chinese delegation believes that the Security Council should, in handling other, similar cases, adopt a practical attitude to facilitate an appropriate solution as it has done in lifting sanctions against Haiti.

The Chinese delegation would like to point out that it has reservations on some elements in resolution 944 (1994) concerning the sending of a multinational force to Haiti. This is unacceptable to us. China has all along faithfully abided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and is opposed to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and resorting to force or threat of force in international relations. It is our consistent view that the only way to a lasting peaceful settlement lies in dialogue and negotiation.

We support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Organization of American States and the Latin American countries in seeking a political solution to the problem of Haiti, and hope that the adoption of this Security Council resolution will help bring about further progress in the peace process in Haiti.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We are particularly gratified to have been able to co-sponsor the draft resolution that the Council has just adopted. In our view it is a tangible sign of hope, although fully in accordance with the letter and spirit of the earlier resolutions of the Council on Haiti.

In lifting the sanctions against Haiti immediately after the return of the constitutional President to his country we are heralding what appears to be the end of a traumatic stage in the life of that country, and the nascent roots of the democratization of the Haitian people.

We hope that the process which has just been started will be strengthened and expanded in an orderly fashion and in the briefest possible time.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

Let me first reflect on this morning's meeting of the Council, which featured the participation of ministers representing various Council members. During that meeting, the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Warren Christopher, reported on developments in the situation in Haiti. That information, together with the data contained in the report submitted on behalf of the multinational force, provides the Council with important facts that should allow it to make a full assessment of the state of affairs in that distressed country.

Ten days ago, by virtue of this Council's authorization, contained in resolution 940 (1994), a multinational force entered Haiti. The mandate established in that resolution entrusted the force with the task of restoring the legitimate authorities of the Government of Haiti and of ensuring a secure and stable situation that would permit the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) and allow it to assume its functions in accordance with Security Council resolutions.

My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the 28 countries that have made troops available to the multinational force. Their efforts, designed to implement the objectives of the international community in Haiti, deserve the appreciation of that community, which they are representing in their work.

For some time it appeared that the activities of the multinational force would take place in tragic circumstances, inasmuch as the de facto authorities in Port-au-Prince had been persistently defying the international community, failing to fulfil their commitments under the Governors Island Agreement and Security Council resolutions.

Fortunately, the understanding reached by the United States authorities and the de facto authorities in Haiti has changed the immediate context of the international action. The major actors on the Haitian side have agreed to leave their posts by 15 October and to cooperate with the multinational force in its activities. We hope that this time they will honour their commitments.

The Governors Island Agreement provided for the sanctions regime imposed on Haiti to be lifted following the return of President Aristide. The Council, in resolution 940 (1994), also affirmed that it would review the measures imposed pursuant to resolutions 841 (1993) and 917 (1994), with a view to lifting them in their entirety, immediately following the return to Haiti of President Aristide.

In accordance with those provisions, we are today proceeding, by virtue of resolution 944 (1994), to lift the trade and financial embargo on Haiti, as well as the ban on air and marine traffic, upon the return of President Aristide. We do so with a view to alleviating the plight of the Haitian people, which continues to be a subject of concern for the members of the Council, including the delegation of Spain.

Spain joined the countries members of the Group of Friends in the Haitian process and Haiti itself in sponsoring the draft resolution that we have just adopted. It is our view that the lifting of sanctions after the return of President Aristide to Haiti represents another - decisive - step towards implementing the objectives set out in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and in the Governors Island Agreement.

None the less, the international community will remain alert to the course of events in Haiti, to be reported on, in accordance with resolutions 917 (1994) and 940 (1994), by the Secretary-General and the countries taking part in the multinational force.

The return of President Aristide, long awaited by the Haitian people and the international community, will signal the restoration of constitutional legitimacy, but that is just a point of departure.

In this process, which will shortly begin, President Aristide and the legitimate authorities of Haiti will receive the support of personnel of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States - the staff of the International Civilian Mission (MICIVIH), which had been carrying out critically important work in monitoring the human rights situation in Haiti until they were expelled from the country by the de facto authorities. We hope that MICIVIH will soon be fully redeployed. We know that the Secretaries-General of both organizations are already working to that end.

The international community now has the task of assisting in the reconstruction of Haiti and in its economic and social development. An important first step has been taken today as we put an end to the sanctions regime, but the commitment of the international community does not stop there.

On 25 September President Aristide announced the convening of a special session of the Haitian Parliament to consider a draft amnesty law. The Parliament began its deliberations yesterday. The restoration of the Haitian legislative body is in itself a positive development.

The adoption of the amnesty law will mark the beginning of the process of healing the wounds inflicted by the *coup d'état* of September 1991. The consolidation of democracy will be an ongoing task, riddled with risks and problems. We hope and trust that, with the support of the international community, the will of the Haitians

to confront those risks and solve those problems will be greater than the magnitude of the obstacles.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There being no further speakers, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of this matter.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.